

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 05495 01 OF 02 030811Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 INR-10 PM-05 EUR-12
NSC-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 /062 W
-----083636 030949Z /20 S
R 030741Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6714

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TOKYO 05495

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (FUKUDA, TAKEO)
SUBJECT: FUKUDA VISIT PAPER: JAPANESE DEFENSE PLANNING
--PROSPECTS FOR US-JAPAN DEFENSE COOPERATION

REF: TOKYO 4578

1. US-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONS ARE ON A SOUND BASIS. THERE IS MORE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE US-JAPAN MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE ITS COMING INTO FORCE IN 1960. THIS IS DUE LARGELY TO THE END OF THE VIETNAM WAR, WHICH WAS SEEN BY MANY JAPANESE AS A THREAT TO PEACE; TO THE US-PRC RAPPROCHEMENT; TO A GREATER REALIZATION AS A RESULT OF THE PLANNED US GROUND TROOP WITHDRAWAL OF THE IMPORTANCE OF STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA; AND TO THE CLUMSINESS OF THE SOVIET UNION'S EAST ASIAN POLICY. WHILE A NATIONAL CONSENSUS ON DEFENSE POLICY MAY BE A LONG WAY OFF AND THE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IS STILL AN ATTRACTIVE TARGET FOR ATTACK BY THE OPPOSITION, IT IS NO LONGER A SOURCE OF SERIOUS INTERNAL POLITICAL DISSENSION. THE NEWLY EMERGING CENTRIST PARTIES ARE FOLLOWING AN INCREASINGLY SUPPORTIVE POLICY.

2. FOR THE U.S. THE TREATY PROVIDES ACCESS TO BASES IN JAPAN AND INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES ESSENTIAL FOR THE PRO-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 05495 01 OF 02 030811Z

SECTION OF U.S. POWER IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC. FOR JAPAN IT PROVIDES DETERRENCE AGAINST EXTERNAL ATTACK, IN PARTICULAR AGAINST THE NUCLEAR THREAT, AND CONTRIBUTES GREATLY TO THE MAINTENANCE OF A FAVORABLE ENVIRONMENT IN NORTHEAST ASIA. IT ALSO PRECLUDES THE NEED FOR JAPANESE DEVELOPMENT OF SUBSTANTIAL INDEPENDENT MILITARY POWER, WHICH WOULD BE SEEN AS A THREAT BY NEIGHBORING

COUNTRIES AND WOULD BE DESTABILIZING FOR THE ENTIRE REGION. JAPAN'S NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING THE PRC, UNDERSTAND THIS AND ACCEPT THE CONTINUATION OF THE TREATY RELATIONSHIP. JAPAN SEEKS NO ALTERATION IN THAT RELATIONSHIP.

3. IN THIS ENVIRONMENT, THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ABLE TO BRING DISCUSSIONS OF SECURITY ISSUES INCREASINGLY INTO THE OPEN. DURING THE PRESENT DIET SESSION GOJ SPOKESMEN, INCLUDING THE PRIME MINISTER, HAVE TAKEN MORE FORTHRIGHT POSITIONS ON SECURITY-RELATED QUESTIONS THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE PAST, ALBEIT LARGELY IN TERMS OF ESTABLISHED POLICY. THEY HAVE, FOR EXAMPLE, DEFENDED US FORCES BASE RIGHTS; UPHELD THE LEGALITY OF JAPANESE FORCES; DECLARED CONSTITUTIONAL, BUT CONTRARY TO NATIONAL POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL TREATIES, THE POSSESSION OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS; AND MADE VARIOUS BOLD STATEMENTS ABOUT THE NECESSITY FOR A NATION TO DEFEND ITSELF.

4. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, DOUBTS HAVE APPEARED IN THE MEDIA AND AMONG THE JAPANESE UNIFORMED SERVICES ABOUT THE CREDIBILITY OF THE US DEFENSE COMMITMENT AND SUGGESTIONS ARE HEARD THAT THE KOREAN GROUND TROOP WITHDRAWAL IS BUT THE BEGINNING OF A GRADUAL US "ABANDONMENT" OF ASIA. THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE'S ANNUAL REPORT, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 05495 01 OF 02 030811Z

WITH ITS EMPHASIS ON NATO, TENDED TO STRENGTHEN THIS FEELING. HIS LOS ANGELES SPEECH HELPED CONSIDERABLY TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT, BUT ONLY A FUTURE DEMONSTRATION OF OUR DETERMINATION WILL ULTIMATELY PUT MINDS TO REST. SOME OBSERVERS HAVE SPECULATED THAT THE CREDIBILITY GAP COULD GIVE RISE IN TIME TO A JAPANESE DECISION TO EXPAND MARKEDLY ITS DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT. WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT JAPAN WILL PURSUE ITS PRESENT COURSE--CONTINUED CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE US, INCLUDING INCREASING CONTRIBUTIONS TO US COSTS IN JAPAN, AND A GRADUAL MODERNIZATION OF ITS OWN FORCES.

5. JAPAN HAS GRADUALLY BUILT UP A MODEST, BUT MODERN, DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT, EMPHASIZING DEFENSE OF THE IMMEDIATE AREA AROUND IT. A MAJOR US POLICY OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN TO MAINTAIN A HIGH DEGREE OF STANDARDIZATION AND COMPLEMENTARITY OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS. UNWILLING FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL REASONS SUBSTANTIALLY TO EXPAND ITS ARMED FORCES, JAPAN HAS CONCENTRATED ON QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS. THE JAPANESE DECIDED IN 1978 TO PROCEED WITH PROGRAMS TO INTRODUCE SOME 100 F-15 AIRCRAFT INTO THEIR FORCES THROUGH DIRECT PURCHASE AND

CO-PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE US, AS WELL AS TO
PROCURE THE P3-C ANTI-SUBMARINE AIRCRAFT. THE TWO
PROGRAMS SHOULD RESULT IN EXPENDITURES OF SOME \$2.6
BILLION IN THE UNITED STATES OVER THE NEXT SEVEN YEARS.
IN 1979 THE JAPANESE ARE PLANNING TO BEGIN A PROGRAM
FOR THE ACQUISITION OF E2C EARLY WARNING AIRCRAFT
WHICH COULD CONTRIBUTE ANOTHER \$750 MILLION TO THE US
BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OVER SEVEN YEARS, FOR A TOTAL OF

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 05495 02 OF 02 030814Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 INR-10 PM-05 EUR-12
NSC-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 /062 W
-----083651 030950Z /20 S

R 030741Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6715

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TOKYO 05495

SOME \$4.5 BILLION WHEN OTHER ONGOING PROGRAMS ARE IN-
CLUDED.

6. JAPAN THIS YEAR WILL SPEND AN ESTIMATED \$535 MILLION
DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY FOR THE SUPPORT OF US FORCES IN
JAPAN, INCLUDING LAND RENTS, REPLACEMENT CONSTRUCTION
AND VARIOUS KINDS OF SOCIAL WELFARE EXPENSES CONNECTED
WITH THE EMPLOYMENT OF OUR JAPANESE WORKFORCE. AS A
RESULT OF INFLATION AND THE RECENT DEPRECIATION OF THE
DOLLAR AGAINST THE YEN, HOWEVER, THE COST OF MAINTAINING
OUR FORCES IN JAPAN IS ESCALATING RAPIDLY. WE HELD
DISCUSSIONS WITH THE JAPANESE LAST YEAR WHICH RESULTED
IN AN INCREASE OF SOME \$26 MILLION IN THE JAPANESE
CONTRIBUTION TO OUR LABOR COSTS, AND WHILE THEY APPEAR
UNABLE BY REASON OF LEGAL INTERPRETATION OF OUR STATUS
OF FORCES AGREEMENT TO TAKE ON MORE IN THE LABOR FIELD AT
THIS TIME, WE ARE CONTINUING TO EXPLORE WITH THEM
WAYS THROUGH WHICH THEY MIGHT FURTHER RELIEVE OUR BURDEN
IN THE FUTURE.

7. WE HAVE NO INDICATION THE PM INTENDS TO DISCUSS
SECURITY MATTERS, ALTHOUGH HE MAY WELL REFER TO THE IM-
PROVED DOMESTIC CLIMATE AND JAPAN'S FORCE IMPROVEMENT

PLANS. WE SUGGEST THAT IF AN OPPORTUNITY ARISES THE
PRESIDENT IN TURN RECALL HIS CONVERSATION WITH
FUKUDA ON COST-SHARING LAST YEAR, EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 05495 02 OF 02 030814Z

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE, AND INDICATE WE HOPE THE GOJ MIGHT
CONTINUE TO FIND WAYS TO HELP US OUT. MANSFIELD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978TOKYO05495
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780143-0509
Format: TEL
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780497/aaaadfek.tel
Line Count: 181
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 41c509b7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 TOKYO 4578
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3088631
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FUKUDA VISIT PAPER: JAPANESE DEFENSE PLANNING --PROSPECTS FOR US-JAPAN DEFENSE COOPERATION
TAGS: OVIP, (FUKUDA, TAKEO)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/41c509b7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014